

PEKING REVIEW

46

November 14, 1975

北
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報

**The Battle to Build Tachai-Type
Counties Is On**

**We Need the Aid of Telescope
And Microscope**

—Workers of a Shanghai steel plant review their
theoretical study in recent years

Soviet Intimidating Messages Rebuffed

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CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
China and Fiji Establish Diplomatic Relations	
National Conference of Collier Team Leaders	
ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS	
Building Tachai-Type Counties: The Battle Is On	4
Workers' Forum (I): We Need the Aid of Telescope and Microscope	6
Socialist Agriculture: Mass Participation in Farm Scientific Experiments — Chin Nung	11
Soviet Intimidating Messages Rebuffed — A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent	14
New Move for Contention in Europe — On new U.S.S.R.-G.D.R. treaty — A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent	15
Behind the Soviet-U.S. Grain Agreement — Jen Ku-ping	16
Reference Material for Study: "Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat": Questions and Answers (7)	17
ROUND THE WORLD	19
Romania: Five-Year Plan Fulfilled Ahead of Time	
United States: Personnel Changes Cause Strong Repercussions	
U.N. Security Council: Resolution on Western Sahara	
U.S. "Aid": Emphasis on Middle East and Southern Europe	
FRIENDSHIP NOTES	21
ON THE HOME FRONT	22
Kwangsi Develops Its Economy	
P.L.A. as a Production Force	

China and Fiji Establish Diplomatic Relations

Chu Chi-chen, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Embassy of China in Australia, and Raman Narayan Nair, High Commissioner for Fiji in Australia, on November 5 signed separately in Canberra for the two governments the joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Fiji.

The communique said: "In accordance with the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and equality and mutual benefit, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Fiji have decided upon mutual recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level as from November 5, 1975.

"The Fiji Government recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China.

"The Chinese Government reaffirms that Taiwan Province is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. The Government of Fiji acknowledges this position of the Chinese Government.

"The Chinese Government supports the Government and people of Fiji in their efforts to safeguard national independence and sovereignty and to develop a self-contained economy devoted to peace.

"The Chinese Government and the Fiji Government have decided to provide each other with all necessary assistance for the establishment and the performance of the functions of the diplomatic missions in their respective capitals on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and in accordance with international practice."

Renmin Ribao on November 7 published an editorial saying that the establishment of diplomatic re-

lations between China and Fiji is in full accord with the common interests of the two peoples.

It said: "We have always maintained that all countries, big or small, should be equal. The principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence should be the guiding principles in relations between countries. We firmly oppose hegemonism and power politics pursued by the imperialists, the superpowers in particular. Although China and Fiji have different social systems, friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence doubtlessly have broad prospects for development."

"Both China and Fiji belong to the third world. Our two peoples have suffered from imperialist aggression and oppression, and have always supported and sympathized with each other in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. They will continue to strengthen their unity and mutual support in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism and for national construction. The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Fiji will not only help promote friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries and enhance friendship between the two peoples, but also contribute to the third world's common struggle in unity against imperialism and hegemonism."

National Conference of Collier Team Leaders

A national conference of coal mining team leaders with more than 5,000 delegates from all parts of the country began on October 30 in Peking.

The largest mass gathering of the coal industry since the founding of the People's Republic of China,

it took place under the prevailing excellent situation in revolution and construction in the industry. Coal and dressed coal production and development footage in the first three-quarters of this year all belated state planned targets. Capital construction also was the best in years.

The conference commended 300 advanced units and conferred titles on ten outstanding "red banner" teams—four extraction and four tunnel driving teams, a drilling squad and an electric cables and machinery maintenance crew—and cited them as examples for the whole industry to learn from. It also studied how to better develop the mass movement, turn the contingent of several million colliery workers and staff members into a contingent of "particularly good fighters," build up coal mining enterprises into firm positions for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and how to mechanize the industry in the next ten years, and other important questions.

In a speech delivered on the opening day, Hsu Chin-chiang, Minister of the Coal Industry, said that China is at an important historical period of development and that a great militant task confronting all workers and staff members in the coal industry is to resolutely persist along the Taching road (the Taching Oilfield is the national pace-setter in industry) and strive to develop production at an unprecedentedly high rate in the industry during the next ten years so as to provide the national economy with "food" for its vast development. To attain this goal, he continued, it is necessary to persist in self-reliance and hard work, make the fullest use of the potential of the older mines and actively transform and develop the small coal mines while building up several large coal bases. The output per work-face, tunnel driving footage and rate of recovery of resources all should be greatly increased and the industry

(Continued on p. 10.)

Building Tachai-Type Counties

The Battle Is On

A GREAT revolutionary mass movement is gathering strength in China. Full of vigour, the movement is to learn from Tachai in agriculture and build Tachai-type counties on a nationwide scale.

Propaganda and Study

Back from the National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture, many delegates leaving railway stations or airports without so much as going home, went straight to the fields or construction sites to spread the news. There were so many things they wanted to tell the cadres and masses: the great significance of building Tachai-type counties all over the country, the standards set for a county of this type, and the bright prospects for the modernization of agriculture (see *Peking Review*, No. 44).

For days on end, Party committees of many provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions held mass meetings—attended by from tens of thousands to as many as several hundred thousand people—to explain and propagate the spirit of the conference. Through different mass media channels and using all forms of propaganda work, Party committees at all levels have seen to it that the conference's spirit was made known to every household so that the call made by the conference would go deep into the hearts of the people. The whole nation has now taken up the militant task of learning from Tachai in agriculture, striving to build Tachai-type counties across the land and bring about mechanization of agriculture.

Comrades on Shanghai's outskirts had this to say: The whole Party is exerting efforts to develop agriculture which is the foundation of the national economy and an undertaking of the first magnitude in economic development. As fighters on the first line, we should fully realize the significance of this task and work in a down-to-earth way to accomplish it.

While seeing to it that the objectives and significance of learning from Tachai and building Tachai-type counties all over the country are well explained to the public, Party committees at all levels have paid particular attention to informing people of the steps to be taken and the policies to be followed in achieving these objectives.

Kwangtung Province is one instance. In the last two years, leadership there has persevered in giving the peasants an education in the Party's basic line and the results have proved quite satisfactory. This means that Kwangtung has grasped the very essence of the movement to learn from Tachai. Its provincial Party committee now calls on the people concerned to sum up experiences in this respect and continue popularizing them. The province has also worked out specific measures in the light of actual conditions there. Favourable conditions in Kwangtung are its subtropical climate, abundant rainfall and a long frost-free period. But it also has the disadvantage of wet weather, torrential downpours and typhoons.

Thus there is the need in Kwangtung to widen the scale of mass activities in scientific experimentation and to bring the role of scientists and technicians into full play so as to understand and master still better the law of the elements. It is hoped that through experimentation and demonstration, the reform in the system of cultivation and the technical revolution in agriculture will be brought to a new level and that the triple-crop system will be further popularized. All this is meant to blaze a new trail for bringing about a new leap in agricultural production.

The conference was rich in content and replete with typical experiences. From place to place, in addition to forums and meetings in various forms to report on the conference, there also are study classes at all levels. And political evening schools too have made the conference spirit the main subject of study. Everywhere in the country, the study is being organized along a line with Chairman Mao's important instructions as the key link, instructions on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat to combat and prevent revisionism, promoting stability and unity and pushing the national economy forward.

People in the course of their studies in quite a number of prefectures and counties have compared their own localities with advanced units to discover how wide the gap is between them. Szechuan Province, where natural conditions are relatively good, failed in the past to make rapid progress in agriculture. Its cadres and people now have pledged to boost agricultural production with a revolutionary spirit plus all-

out efforts. Yuncheng Prefecture in Shansi Province compared itself with Hsinhsiang Prefecture in Honan Province in a case-study to see how far it has lagged behind Hsinhsiang. It once excelled the latter in wheat production. Yuncheng's per-hectare wheat yield in 1970 was 225 kilogrammes higher than Hsinhsiang's, but today, five years later, a hectare in Hsinhsiang is bringing in 975 kilogrammes more than in Yuncheng. How come? The Yuncheng people themselves know the answer best. "We must not indulge in self-complacency any more," they have said. Itung in Kirin Province is an advanced county in learning from Tachai, but its Party committee discovered in recent studies that, compared with Tachai, much still was left to be desired. Itung has decided to continue the revolution and move forward.

Immediate Action

As a result of propagating and studying the spirit the recent conference, the whole country today has been fully mobilized, both inside and outside the Party, among cadres and masses, in agriculture and in other trades as well.

Highly proficient work teams have been organized in many places and sent down to the less advanced areas to help solve problems one by one. In the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, the Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda teams sent out by its Party committee left very recently for some counties, communes, production brigades; factories and mines in Kwangsi's eight prefectures and four cities in order to bring the spirit of the conference to the grass-roots level.

The Shantung Provincial Party Committee too has decided to send over 2,000 cadres of its own to eight counties in four prefectures. Led by leading comrades of the Party committee, they are entrusted with the job of solving the problems in less advanced places.

Similar measures also have been taken elsewhere in the country with the determination to devote the efforts of the leadership at all levels to the full-scale development of agriculture and to building Tachai-type counties all over China. The initiative of the cadres and masses and the resources of various trades are also to be channelled into ways and means serving this end.

The entire countryside is seething with activity. People say: There will be five years of hard struggle, we must get off to a good start by making the battle in the first year a success. Party committees at all levels are now leading the peasants in vehemently criticizing revisionism and capitalism and working hard for socialism in the style of the Tachai Production Brigade. There is a new upsurge in learning from Tachai in real earnest, in working with might and

main to catch up with Hsiyang County and in going into farmland capital construction so as to create the material conditions to facilitate building Tachai-type counties in the shortest time possible.

As a matter of fact, the whole country was already on the move while the conference was still in session. Hopei Province, where progress in agriculture has been fairly rapid, had set out to prompt the less advanced to catch up. As soon as autumn arrived, its Party committee organized leaders of prefectural agriculture and forestry departments and county Party secretaries in mountain areas to visit units with notable achievements in farmland capital construction. The purpose was to learn from these units, sum up experiences in learning from Tachai and find out the gaps by making contrasts with such advanced units like Hsiyang and so work out a new blueprint for transforming the mountains and rivers of Hopei.

Simultaneous with the autumn wheat sowing in Honan, Shantung, Peking, Tientsin and other places, there was an upsurge in deep ploughing and levelling the ground. In the south, in Hunan and Kwangsi, for example, people started farmland capital construction even before autumn had come, something contrary to old tradition. Thus, by mid-October, Kwangsi had some 15,800 projects underway with more than 2,370 already completed and newly reclaimed farmland amounting to 13,600 hectares; in Hunan Province, over 73 million cubic metres of earth and stone work had been completed by that time, greatly exceeding the amount in the corresponding period of any of the past few years.

Wuchung is one of the advanced counties in the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region. There, both the cadres and the masses — Hui and Han nationalities alike — have gone into action in the spirit of the conference. The county Party committee organized 60 per cent of the labour force to go in for building irrigation ditches, channels, roads, forests and farms in four major areas there. Over 90 per cent of the office workers took part in building the main projects. Construction has made remarkable progress since mid-October, surpassing previous years in scale, speed and quality.

In building Tachai-type counties, the key lies in the county Party committees. While stepping up farmland capital construction, leading cadres in many counties have truly improved their style of leadership. As ordinary labourers, they have gone to work at the forefront, sweating along with the masses. Wasting no time before the advent of the snowbound season, Party committees at all levels in Liaoning, Kirin and Heilungkiang Provinces in the northeast have organized group after group of cadres to go to the agricultural front since the national conference. Carrying their belongings on their backs, and with an enthusiasm reminiscent of the

days of the land reform, agricultural co-operation and establishment of the people's communes, they joined hands with their colleagues at the grass-roots level and the commune members in carrying out the call of the conference. This has greatly inspired the masses.

Shouyang in Shansi is a county that has leaped from a less advanced to an advanced one. With only

one of the 16 members of the standing committee of the county Party committee remaining in the office to handle day-to-day work, the rest all moved to the countryside where they took the lead in strenuous toil. More than half of Shouyang's labour force is now engaged in farmland capital construction to ensure that next year will be another bumper harvest year.



Workers' Forum (I)

We Need the Aid of Telescope And Microscope

In issues Nos. 16, 18 and 19 this year we published "Criticism of Selected Passages From 'Analects'—A Confucian 'Classic'" written by the workers' theoretical study group of the No. 2 workshop of the Shanghai No. 5 Steel Plant.

Letters from our readers have expressed the wish to learn more about workers studying theory. Here are some of their questions: Why are the workers of China studying so assiduously? Why has Confucius, who lived 2,500 years ago, been criticized simultaneously with Lin Piao? Why is it necessary to study the history of the struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools? Why are these subjects not given to some specialists to handle?

We have therefore invited workers of the No. 5 Steel Plant to review their factory's movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and how the workers' theoretical study contingent grew up in this movement in the present series of articles. Taking part in the writing are: furnace worker Chen Hsiao-chun, rolling mill worker Chou Teh-hsi, forge worker Mei Yi-liu, oxyacetylene welder Pei Nien-chou, woman turner Hsin Li-chu and veteran rolling mill worker and now head of the supply department's trade union Wang Hsiu-kuo. — Ed.

WITHOUT coloured-glass goggles we'd not be able to make out the slag from the steel in the furnace. In revolution, without studying theory we'd not be able to distinguish real from sham Marxism." That is the way we put it in our plant.

We have more than 15,000 people working in 21 workshops and departments in our plant. The workshops' staff and workers are divided into sections and these are divided into shifts and teams. Twice a week, before or after work, each shift or team studies for an hour. But many workers do a lot more reading on their own, some spending much time in the city and university libraries. After-work theoretical study

groups have been set up at the workshop and section levels. There are now 127 such groups with more than 1,800 persons taking part. In addition, the plant frequently organizes short-term study classes and other activities connected with theoretical study.

Our plant is not unlike other huge steel mills in appearance—rows of tall buildings, flames lighting up the night sky, streams of molten steel, fiery billets hurtling through the rolling mills. . . . But the moment you enter the gate of our main office building, you see a "wall newspaper" board 20 metres long with articles by the workers on the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the causes of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, and criticisms of Lin Piao and Confucius. Similar wall or blackboard newspapers are run by workshops and sections or by shifts and teams.

This is a measure of our workers' enthusiasm in studying theory. We attach the greatest importance to reading the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works and criticizing revisionism, the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes.

Why do we study so hard? To answer this question we must refer briefly to the historical background and the course of events in recent years.

Revolutionary Theory Led Us Out of the Abyss of Misery

Shanghai is China's largest city and has the largest concentration of industrial workers. Before liberation it was an abyss of misery for the working class. Unemployment, dismissals, exorbitant taxes, soaring inflation and other social pestilence made the lives of countless families dismal and wretched.

Many of our veteran workers and parents of younger ones had their fill of suffering. Our Party branch secretary of a section of the supply department, 59-year-

old Hsueh Tsai-tung managed to find work as a street cleaner before liberation, earning barely enough to keep body and soul together. But his job was collecting corpses, for every winter morning in Shanghai brought a grisly harvest of emaciated corpses of men, women and children who had tried to find shelter from the cold among the tall buildings of the imperialist firms and capitalist shops. Chen Mei-ling, 45, a woman worker in the supply department who lost both parents when she was a child, had the harrowing experience of being sold three times to capitalists as a bondservant. Her body still bears the scars of whippings and beatings.

In the 1920s, the workers of Shanghai rose in revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party. They fought heroically against fiendish but temporarily strong enemies. On April 12, 1927, Chiang Kai-shek unleashed his counter-revolutionary massacre. The spot not far from the present bus terminus outside our plant ran with the blood of many murdered workers. That serious setback to the revolution was the result of the capitulationism of Chen Tu-hsiu, the chieftain of the first opportunist line after the founding of our Party.

Only with the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought was our Party able to defeat time and again "Left" and Right opportunist lines and lead the people to victory after 28 years of arduous struggle. In May 1949, Shanghai was liberated.

The new society is different from the old as day is from night. The menace of unemployment and dismissals and runaway inflation has long since been done away with. As production develops, jobs are continually created. Our plant was set up in 1958. The workers' living standards have gone up steadily and collective welfare services have kept expanding.



Steelworker Chen Hsiao-chun, one of the writers of this series of articles.

The working class is the leading class in our country. For example, among the Deputies to the Fourth National People's Congress (highest organ of state power under the leadership of the Party) held in Peking last January was Lin Yao-hua, a young teemer in our plant and an activist in theoretical studies. He was also a member of the N.P.C. presidium. In our plant a large number of workers have been promoted to leading positions. Rank-and-file workers have the right to take part in management.

In a word, we workers have broken the chains of the exploitative capitalist system. Our deep conviction that "Marxism is the theory of the proletarian movement for emancipation" (Lenin: *The Collapse of the Second International*) is built on personal experience. We must hold firmly to it.

Revolutionary Theory Helps Us Distinguish the True From the False

Even now, however, it is still possible that the fruits of our victory might be snatched away and that we might once again become wage-slaves. Our experience since liberation shows that this danger does exist.

Whoever openly proposes to restore the old society today will at once find himself like a "rat running across the street with everyone yelling: Kill it!" However, "the development of science is providing more and more material to prove that Marx was right. This makes it necessary to fight against him hypocritically, not to oppose the principles of Marxism openly, but to pretend to accept it and at the same time to emasculate it by sophistry, to transform Marxism into a holy 'icon' that is harmless for the bourgeoisie." (Lenin: *The Collapse of the Second International*.) This is why the class enemies are using the counter-revolutionary trick of "opposing the red flag by waving red flags." And this is why in his plan for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat entitled *Outline of Project "571,"* Lin Piao called for "waving Chairman Mao's banner to strike at Chairman Mao's forces." In the Soviet Union, too, where capitalism has been completely restored, new bureaucrat-monopoly-capitalists donning the cloak of "Communists" still are piously uttering some Marxist-Leninist phrases to fool people.

Criticizing Liu Shao-chi. Liu Shao-chi was one such extremely dangerous political swindler. Prior to the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966, the counter-revolutionary revisionist line he pushed affected our plant. Take his "material incentives" for instance. At one stage, the plant was awash with all sorts of bonuses. This led to a small number of people neglecting quality and going solely after quantity, and there were cases of falsification,



Pao Fu (second from left), a leading member of the plant's Party committee, studies together with members of a workers' theoretical group.

handing difficulties over to others, and arguments over who should and who should not get such and such a bonus. Most workers felt that there was something wrong about this. "The more we discuss awarding bonuses the more we are at loggerheads," they protested.

And take Liu Shao-chi's "letting specialists run the factories." This too affected our plant. By relying on only a few technical experts and totally ignoring the workers' opinions, the No. 2 workshop spent more than a million yuan to make a stripper according to foreign conventions for emptying ingots from the moulds. The machine was never used because it did not fit our conditions. In those days some professional controllers influenced by the revisionist line often acted arbitrarily towards the workers. Even veteran steel-makers with long years of experience had no say at all. This was cause for tension between the managerial staff and the workers. Many workers felt that this was wrong because it hurt their initiative, but at that time they did not see the essence of the error and could not say exactly what was wrong.

The flames of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution blazed up. The workers rose to criticize the revisionist line. But to do so they had to back their criticisms with reasoned argument. For example, what exactly was wrong with "material incentives" and "letting specialists run the factories"? To get at the essence of the matter, they had to study revolutionary theory. Only by looking at them from the high plane of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat was it possible to understand that "material in-

centives" could only stimulate bourgeois ideas of getting rich and striving after fame and gain, and that "letting specialists run the factories" was a negation of the role of the proletariat as masters of the country and of the factories. If these things were allowed to spread unchecked, they would inevitably lead to the Soviet revisionists' "new economic system" and thoroughly change the nature of our socialist enterprises.

"Material incentives" and "letting specialists run the factories" are only two examples. Manifestations of the revisionist line in management are many and are also reflected in the political, economic and cultural spheres and in the life of society as a whole. All this requires that the workers take the lead in criticizing

them. This led us to a deeper understanding of Chairman Mao's teaching: "The naked eye is not enough, we must have the aid of the telescope and the microscope. The Marxist method is our telescope and microscope in political and military matters." (*Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War*.) During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution a mass movement in studying revolutionary theory was started in our plant, as in the rest of the country.

The Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held in August 1970 called on the whole nation to study revolutionary theory still harder so as to heighten the ability to distinguish between true and sham Marxism. Chairman Mao issued the directive: "Read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism." In our plant, many workers assiduously studied the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, *The Civil War in France*, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, *Anti-Duhring*, *The State and Revolution* and *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. They also repeatedly studied the works of Chairman Mao.

Criticizing Lin Piao. After Lin Piao's plot for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat was smashed in September 1971, the people of China angrily denounced this political swindler. In criticizing Lin Piao, we felt more than ever the necessity to study revolutionary theory.

Just as people say, the counter-revolutionary double-dealer Lin Piao was one of those "who never showed up without a copy of *Quotations* in hand and

never opened their mouths without shouting 'long live' and who spoke nice things to your face but stabbed you in the back." Lin Piao frequently made use of certain passages from Marxist-Leninist works, quoting them out of context and emasculating their essence to sell his revisionist wares. For example, Lin Piao said that "class struggle is the core and soul of Mao Tsetung Thought." At that time a worker in our No. 2 workshop felt that this was wrong. Later in the course of criticizing Lin Piao we studied this passage in Lenin's *The State and Revolution*: "Those who recognize only the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found to be still within the boundaries of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics. To confine Marxism to the doctrine of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it, reducing it to something which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat." This important thesis helped us to see that Lin Piao was curtailing and distorting Marxism for the very purpose of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In their *Outline of Project "571,"* Lin Piao and his gang dropped their masks and malevolently cursed our dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist system. For example, they asserted that we Chinese workers were being "exploited in a disguised form." Everyone was enraged. Veteran workers spoke out, recalling how they were exploited in the old society and contrasting their past misery with life today. But to make use of Lin Piao, this teacher by negative example, "turn poi-

sonous weeds into fertilizer" and raise everyone's ability to recognize slanders and sophistry for what they were, it was imperative to study revolutionary theory.

What is exploitation? Engels in his *Anti-Duhring* pointed out that exploitation is "appropriation by others of the product of this surplus-labour." In our socialist state enterprises, a part of the value created by the workers goes to pay their wages and the rest is used by the state in socialist construction and improving the living standards of the people. Our People's Government has always adhered to the principle of "from the people and to the people." So there is no question of exploitation.

What was the aim of Lin Piao in spouting such drivel? From our reading of Stalin's works we saw that anti-Party ringleaders in the Soviet Union in earlier times also resorted to such tricks. Stalin sharply denounced the Trotsky-Zinoviev anti-Party clique for coming "out into the street with demagogic statements calling for an immediate 30-40 per cent increase in wages." "The purpose of these demagogic pronouncements is not to improve the condition of the working class, but to foment discontent among the backward sections of the working people." (*Reply to the Discussion on the Report on "The Social-Democratic Deviation in Our Party."*) Lin Piao too was trying to create confusion in order to carry out his scheme of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. In March 1972, with the deepening criticism of Lin Piao, six worker-



In a steelmaking workshop.

Woodcut by Shanghai worker amateur artists

activists in our No. 2 workshop felt that there was much in common between Lin Piao's reactionary ideology and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. For more than three months, they spent their off-hours reading books and reference materials and compiled 258 sayings of Confucius and Mencius, compared them with Lin Piao's utterances and made an initial criticism of them.

Early last year, personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius began throughout the land. This was another struggle on the political and ideological fronts to combat and prevent revisionism. Our plant immediately went into action. An avalanche of big-character posters appeared. An all-plant meeting was held on January 30. Close to 10,000 people attended, and everyone in the plant except those who could not leave their posts was there. One after the other, workers walked up to the platform and spoke, angrily denouncing Lin Piao and the basis of his reactionary ideology — the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. The resounding strains of *The Internationale* burst from the audience: "For justice thunders condemnation, a better world's in birth . . . we have been naught; we shall be all . . ." We "prisoners of starvation" in the old society had not only overthrown the political rule of the landlord and capitalist classes but were now launching an all-out attack against their decadent ideology.

In the course of the movement, workers responding to the call of the Party formed an increasing number of after-work theoretical study groups. These groups took the lead in criticizing Lin Piao and criticizing the "classics" of the Confucian school and other bad books or sayings which spread the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. They led fellow-workers in studying the history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and the history of class struggle as a whole.

First Step in a 10,000-Li Long March

Early this year our great leader Chairman Mao's important instruction calling on the whole nation to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat

was published. This is of tremendous importance in combating and preventing revisionism and ensuring that China continues to forge ahead along the Marxist-Leninist road. Preliminary study of this instruction has enabled us to see more clearly that we have only taken the first step in a 10,000-li long march to realize the lofty, long-term goal of communism. We have already established the superior socialist system, but in economic, moral and intellectual aspects it is still inevitably stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges. Only by waging a protracted and arduous struggle to strengthen all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie can we gradually eliminate these birth marks and create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's recent directive, the Chinese people have launched a mass criticism of the novel *Water Margin* which has been circulated widely for several centuries propagating capitulationism. (See *Peking Review*, issue No. 37, 1975.) This is a component part of the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism. Chieftains of opportunist lines, those enemies of the proletarian dictatorship, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and their ilk, all practised class capitulation in home affairs and national capitulation in foreign affairs.

Chairman Mao's directives have encouraged the people of the whole country to study revolutionary theory more diligently. All the workers of Shanghai, two million strong, are taking part in this study and the number of activists in it has risen to 240,000. Workers make up 70 per cent of the readership in Marxist-Leninist reading rooms in the city libraries. Vast numbers of Marxist-Leninist works have been sold by the city's bookshops. Lenin's *The State and Revolution* alone sold 480,000 copies in the first eight months of this year.

"Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." (Lenin: *What Is to Be Done?*) To continue the revolution we must continue to study unceasingly.

(Continued from p. 3.)

must be basically mechanized within a decade.

Leading comrades of the State Council received the conference delegates on the afternoon of November 7. One of these leading comrades said in an important speech: Outstanding achievements have been at-

tained in the coal industry since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started and workers and staff members in the industry have performed meritoriously. The colliers have worked hard underground the year round to create wealth for the country and the people. This is to the glory of the coal miners.

In his speech, he pointed out future tasks and encouraged workers and staff members to get out more and better coal to guarantee meeting the needs for the great development of the national economy. In particular, he stressed the need to direct efforts to the basic levels and the building of coal mining contingents.

Mass Participation in Farm Scientific Experiments

by Chin Nung

SUBURBAN Shanghai has kept increasing farm production for years running. In 1974, it yielded 10,822 kilogrammes of grain per hectare and 892 kilogrammes of cotton per hectare, a 3.3-fold and 6.3-fold rise respectively as compared with 1949, the year of liberation. (See "Self-Sufficient in Grain Despite Little Land and Big Population" in our issue No. 33, 1975.) This has been followed by a good early rice harvest this year when all ten counties on the city's outskirts increased their output. An important factor in such a big increase lies in large-scale farm scientific experiments.

Active Part by Peasants

Agricultural scientific experimentation in China is an undertaking of a mass character. This work is not done exclusively by full-time scientific workers in laboratories or on small experimental plots but is carried out in people's communes in the vast rural areas. Throughout the country, more than 13 million peasants are now taking part in such activities in an organized way. In suburban Shanghai, embracing ten counties and nearly 200 communes, well over 100,000 people have got organized to make scientific experiments and there is an agricultural scientific institute in each county, an agricultural scientific station in each commune and ex-

perimental groups in production brigades and teams, all adding up to a complete network.

The Paerh Production Brigade in Chinshan County is one example. Apart from the experimental plots in each production team, the youth, women and militia have their own plots for carrying out experiments. One group consists of nine women working on an experimental paddyfield. After repeated testing, they succeeded in growing sturdy rice plants with short stalks and heavy ears, thus preventing lodging, a problem that had long gone unsolved. Another group formed by eight grandmothers, who never have considered themselves too old to work, took on the task of working an experimental cotton plot which gave a per-hectare yield of 1,500 kilogrammes of ginned cotton.

This production brigade has become one of the advanced units in scientific experimentation in suburban Shanghai. By discovering the laws governing plant growth through mass experiments and applying them to farm production, it has gathered high grain yields for 17 years in a row.

What accounts for the burgeoning development of mass activities in scientific experiments?

Savagely exploited and oppressed in old China, the peasants could hardly keep the wolf from the door. How could there be any scientific experiments to speak of?

With land distributed to the peasants after liberation, the small-peasant economy based on individual households, however, still could not provide them with enough manpower, money and land to go in for such pursuits. The realization of collectivization in the countryside, especially the establishment of the people's communes, created conditions for mass scientific experimentation. This is well illustrated by Chingpu County on the outskirts of Shanghai where 9.7 per cent of the total grain acreage are devoted to experimenting on high yields and various strains of seeds. Scientific research of such a magnitude was completely out of the question before liberation and even in the early post-liberation years when the small-peasant economy prevailed.

Since the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the peasants have criticized the Confucian fallacy that



Peasant agro-technicians of a people's commune in Chinshan County studying good rice plants.

"the highest are the wise and the lowest are the stupid" and toppled the erroneous idea that "working the land depends on the peasants and doing scientific work can only depend on specialists." As a result, scientific research work by the masses has been thriving as never before. More and more people have come to realize that true knowledge comes from practice and that agricultural science neither drops from the skies nor is innate in the mind, but it is a summing up of the peasants' experience acquired from long years of practice in production. Peasants with the richest practical experience can and should do scientific research work.

Mass participation in scientific research has directly boosted farm production. Since the Great Cultural Revolution, peasants on the outskirts of Shanghai have tried out and popularized a triple-crop system instead of growing only two crops a year as in the past. Since this requires a period of more than 430 days for the growth of crops, they have adopted such measures as breeding early-ripening and high-yielding strains, lengthening the breeding period of seedlings in nurseries and shortening the growing period of crops in the fields to ensure high and stable yields of all three crops. Shanghai used to be heavily dependent on other parts of the country for its fruit. Peasants and agro-technicians there in recent years have boldly experimented and succeeded in getting apple trees from the north to bear fruit in Shanghai. Today there are large tracts of orchards in all ten suburban counties.

Role of Full-Time Technicians

Suburban Shanghai's far-flung network for scientific experiments by the masses is working under the guidance of specialized institutions.

Agricultural scientific research was very backward in old China and the number of institutions and personnel in this field was insignificant. Not a single institution was specially set up for this purpose in Shanghai. Some agricultural scientific workers then had the idea of promoting agricultural development through the results of their studies. Several of them did breed some fine wheat strains after long and arduous efforts, but the reactionary Kuomintang government turned a blind eye, not to speak of giving them support. What with the frequent occurrence of natural calamities and the destitute and miserable life of the people in the rural areas, popularization of fine seed strains and improvement of cultivation techniques were no more than



Agronomists of a farm growing fine seed strains in Shanghai's Nanhui County.

castles in the air. What these scientists achieved in their research work could only be consigned to laboratories or recorded in treatises.

Since the founding of New China, the Party and the People's Government have attached great importance to scientific research work. The revolutionary change in the social system has created conditions for development in the sciences. With the rapid growth of farm research work, scientific workers in this field have every opportunity to exercise their specialities.

In Shanghai alone, the agricultural experimental station, livestock-breeding and veterinary station, milch-cow scientific research institute and farm machinery research institute were set up one after another. Formally established in 1960, the academy of agricultural science includes seven institutes for seed breeding and crop cultivation, soil and fertilizer, plant protection, farm machinery and other research work. The number of full-time agricultural research personnel has gone from 28 in the early post-liberation years to 476.

The institutes under the academy have set up 40 "bases" around Shanghai maintaining close contact with 193 production brigades and teams. Usually one-third of their staff work at the grass-roots level. Thanks to the close links with the experimental groups in production teams and the working out of research topics in the light of the needs of production, they have in recent years made rapid progress in their work, with successes in 42 research items to their credit. To improve the late-ripening strains of rape which were unsuited to the triple-crop system, they worked together with the peasants to successfully breed six new early-ripening and high-yielding strains and popularize them on large tracts of land.

The academy also makes it a rule to send staff members to stay in production teams. Apart from helping with the work of experimental groups there, they run study classes and training courses in various forms, print and distribute scientific and technical materials and books and train peasant-technicians. In the past three years, they have trained more than 500 peasant-technicians as a backbone force and given more than 200 training courses in seed breeding, plant protection, horticulture, farm machinery and veterinary science to a total of over 50,000 trainees.

Full-time scientific and technical personnel, however, often divorced themselves from the labouring masses and practical production as a result of interference by the revisionist line, thus adversely affecting the progress of scientific research work. But since the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, large numbers of agricultural scientific research workers have gone out of their laboratories and into the midst of the peasants. This has given impetus to mass scientific research activities and at the same time promoted the research work of specialized institutions.

Some people in the past made scientific experiments without taking into account the needs of agricultural development. In studying ways to prevent the potato degeneration, for instance, they used to busy themselves with handling test tubes and flasks behind closed doors in laboratories. But nothing came of it after a good ten years. When they went to the countryside in 1971 to set up experimental centres on an extensive scale, they found that the masses there had had many good experiences in this respect. By closely combining theoretical knowledge with practical experience, they gained new experiences in preventing potato degeneration and getting high and stable yields in a little over a year and got them widely popularized in the suburban areas.

Beginning ten years ago, work on designing and making a motor-driven transplanter of rice seedlings was mainly confined to laboratories. Many problems arose when it was put to use in the paddyfields. Later they went to factories and villages and joined efforts with machine builders and peasant-technicians to successfully trial-produce the "Shanghai 1" motor-driven transplanter which is now in wide use.

Fruitful Results

Carrying out mass activities in scientific experiments and bringing into full play the role of the professionals have enabled scientific research work in agriculture to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results.

The breeding of a new variety of crop which used to take eight or nine years is a case in point. Now the time needed has been shortened to four or five years by trial-planting it in many places in different areas at the same time and studying its properties through

mass scientific research organizations after it has initially taken shape. With this, the process of popularization has also been speeded up. Now 80 per cent of the nation's total acreage sown to paddy-rice use high-yielding fine strains. As for prevention of plant diseases and insect pests, the numerous plant protection stations set up in the countryside under the guidance of specialized institutions have disseminated the relevant knowledge among the peasants and thus greatly raised the level of forecasting as well as prevention techniques.

The Peitsai Commune in Chuansha County in suburban Shanghai boasts more than 120 scientific experimental groups with over 1,500 peasants taking part in their activities. It has set up five indigenous laboratories for microbiological studies and trained 400 peasant-technicians. Bearing in mind the weak links in production in the locality, they do studies of seeds, irrigation and fertilizer, plant diseases and insect pests, crop cultivation and field management and microbes. Their efforts have helped increase output by a wide margin.

Mass participation in scientific research work also cuts the costs entailed. The more than 300 indigenous workshops making insecticides and other products on Shanghai's outskirts all were built by peasants relying on the strength of the collective economy and using simple apparatuses and equipment made by themselves. In 1974, the insecticides they produced were upwards of 90 per cent effective in preventing early rice diseases and pests and the bacteria fertilizers and farm hormones were applied to 50 per cent of the grain acreage in suburban Shanghai.

The combination of full-time and mass scientific research work is also conducive to taking measures suited to local conditions. This is of great importance to farm production. While implementing the Eight-Point Charter for agriculture (namely, soil improvement, rational application of fertilizer, water conservancy, improved seed strains, rational close-planting, plant protection, field management and innovation of farm implements) put forward by Chairman Mao, the peasants on Shanghai's outskirts have paid attention to applying materialist dialectics in dealing with these eight basic factors for increasing farm production. In the case of selecting and breeding fine seed strains, a good strain in one place may not suit conditions in another place because the soil, climate and other conditions vary in different areas. This is also the case with close planting which depends on soil fertility, seed strains, early or late sowing time and other factors. The peasants earnestly learn from the experiences of other countries and other places, but never copy them mechanically.

Practice has proved: Though suburban Shanghai has limited farmland, there is great potential to be tapped. An effective way of achieving this is carrying out agricultural scientific research and scientific farming.

Soviet Intimidating Messages Rebuffed

ANOTHER intimidating message was delivered on November 9 by the Soviet Government to current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity and Ugandan President Idi Amin, demanding that Uganda and the O.A.U. support one liberation organization in Angola according to Soviet dictate. The message also denounced the Ugandan Government for allowing Radio Uganda to broadcast a speech by the Zairese Commissioner of External Affairs condemning Soviet interference in Angola's internal affairs.

President Amin has categorically rejected the brazen Soviet bluff and firmly adhered to the correct O.A.U. stand that the three Angolan liberation organizations should cease fighting and unite for the realization of national independence. He warned the Soviet Government that African affairs must be solved by the Africans themselves and that there was no need for the Soviet Union to dictate. President Amin's reply has upheld the dignity of his country and the O.A.U. and deflated the arrogance of the Soviet social-imperialists.

To send intimidating messages to African leaders is a habitual practice of the Soviet Government in pushing hegemonism. It may be recalled that on the eve of the 4th Conference of the Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Soviet revisionist chieftain Brezhnev delivered on August 30, 1973 a message to President Houari Boumediene of the Council of Revolution of Algeria, the host country of the conference, savagely attacking the thesis of rich countries and poor countries put forward by Algeria and other third world countries as "ill intentioned lucubrations." This attack was intended to divert the conference from the correct orientation of opposing superpower hegemonism. But President Boumediene ignored Brezhnev's intimidation and stuck to the concept of rich and poor countries. The Political Declaration adopted at the conference eloquently refuted Brezhnev's attack. It said that we are "in a world where, besides a minority of rich countries, there exists a majority of poor countries."

Their intimidation had run into a brick wall, but the Soviet social-imperialists' ambition to dominate the world simply would not change. On the eve of the 12th O.A.U. Summit Conference last July, the Soviet Government handed to President Amin of the host country a "special message" brazenly giving African heads of state orders in a vain attempt to impose on the conference such sinister stuff as "disarmament" and "detente." But this clumsy attempt again failed. Describing the "special message" as "terrible," delegates of African countries said that it "is a symbol of

Soviet power politics," and "new colonization of Africa under a socialist banner." "We African people will never be deceived," they declared.

On October 28, the Soviet Charge d'Affaires ad interim in Zaire delivered to the Foreign Ministry of Zaire a message on the Angolan situation from the Soviet Government to President Mobutu Sese Seko which groundlessly slandered and threatened Zaire. The Political Bureau of the Popular Revolutionary Movement of Zaire held a special meeting the next day and published a statement warning the Soviet Government: "Zaire officially informed the Moscow authorities that if the escalation of the diplomatic notes and the despicable provocations and intimidation of a big power should continue, for the sake of self-defence, we would be obliged to sever diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union for the third time."

When the O.A.U. institutions concerned were actively working for a reasonable solution of the Angolan problem, the Soviet Government, according to Radio Uganda on November 3, in a message to Idi Amin, had openly interfered in O.A.U. affairs, truculently persisted in its reactionary position of splitting the Angolan liberation movements, and even threatened to recognize the unilateral declaration of independence by one of the liberation movements the very day it does so. President Amin, however, replied firmly that as Chairman of the O.A.U., he would not take sides with any of the three liberation movements and that his only purpose was to have them unite and form a government of national unity.

All five intimidating messages from the Soviet Government, sternly rejected by the African countries, have fully shown the reactionary nature of the Soviet social-imperialists in pushing power politics and arrogantly interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. They also have exposed the social-imperialists' vicious and obstinate intention to divide the O.A.U. and undermine the African people's just cause of unity against hegemonism.

The African people are a heroic people who are defying brute force. In the course of their protracted struggle, they have come to realize that unity is at once the source of strength and a guarantee for victory. The Soviet social-imperialists, the self-styled "natural allies" of the African people, can never halt the march of nearly 400 million African people fighting in unity, whether by sham "assistance" or by high-handed tactics of threats and intimidation.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent, November 11)

New Move for Contention in Europe

— On new U.S.S.R.-G.D.R. treaty

THE Soviet Union recently concluded a so-called "treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance" with the German Democratic Republic. This is a new step by the Soviet social-imperialists to carry out flagrant aggression and expansion in Europe under the veil of sham detente as peddled at the "European security conference."

As early as 1964, the Soviet Union concluded with the G.D.R. a similar "treaty" effective for 20 years. Why did the Soviet revisionists hastily conclude this new "treaty" with the G.D.R. when the old one just passed mid-point in its validity and only two months elapsed after the "European security conference"? This is food for deep thought.

To force the Western countries to recognize their spheres of influence in Eastern Europe, the Soviet revisionists tried hard to make them agree to write down the "principle" of the "inviolability of frontiers" in the "Final Act" of the "European security conference." Meanwhile, they hypocritically agreed to insert into the same document the sentence "frontiers can be changed in accordance with international law, by peaceful means and by agreement" in exchange for the early convening of the summit session of the "European security conference." Now, shortly after that conference, they have revealed to the hilt their sinister double-faced features by signing the treaty with the G.D.R. This new treaty stresses "the inviolability of the state borders in Europe" and "the unchangeability of the frontiers" between the two German states since World War II. This is a demonstration before the Western countries and clearly warning them that they must not lay hands on the Soviet spheres of influence.

In doing so, the Soviet social-imperialists are guided by the logic: hold tight what you have got, and try to grab what you have not. After the "European security conference," the Brezhnev clique hurriedly signed this treaty with the G.D.R. to consolidate "the Soviet military outpost on the Western front." The move is an important component part of Moscow's intensified aggression and expansion in Western Europe and its contention for hegemony in Europe with U.S. imperialism. In the treaty, the Soviet revisionists asked the G.D.R. to abide by its "obligations in the Warsaw Treaty." The new treaty stipulates that "should one of the high contracting parties become subject to armed attack by some state or group of states," the other high contracting party "shall without delay render it all kinds of assistance, including military assistance." Thus, the G.D.R. is forced to serve the Soviet revisionists' policy of ag-

gression and expansion. According to Western press reports, of the 500,000 Soviet troops in Central Europe, 350,000 are stationed in the G.D.R. Shortly after the signing of the treaty, Soviet brasshat Grechko went there to "inspect" the "combat readiness" of the Soviet army groups. A correspondent of the Federal Republic of Germany's Suedwestfunk held that the main purpose of the treaty was to provide the Soviet troops in the G.D.R. with a consolidated foothold.

To lord it over Europe, the Soviet revisionists want to keep Germany perpetually divided. World public opinion has taken notice of the fact that a provision in the old U.S.S.R.-G.D.R. treaty states "the creation of a peace-loving, democratic, united German state can be achieved only through negotiation on an equal footing and agreement between the two sovereign German states." However, the new treaty makes no mention at all of "a united German state." A Western news agency pointed out that this signals that the Kremlin "would act to prevent any moves towards the reunification of East and West Germany." The German people have suffered more than enough from the prolonged division since the war and have therefore cherished the strong desire to realize the reunification of Germany for which they have been fighting together for years. But going against the will of the German people and unscrupulously interfering in their internal affairs, the Brezhnev clique insists on perpetuating the division of Germany in order to further its aggressive and expansionist designs against Western Europe and dominate the whole continent.

The Soviet revisionists badly need to further tighten their control over Eastern Europe so as to strengthen their position in the contention for Europe with the U.S. imperialists. Brezhnev has publicly admitted that "the kernel of the treaty" is to bring the Soviet Union and the G.D.R. closer to each other and demanded that other member states of the "big community" pool their knowledge, experience, material resources and energy in the common interests of the "community," in other words, in the hegemonic interests of the Soviet revisionists. Brezhnev's "theory of limited sovereignty" and "theory of international dictatorship" have been inserted into the new treaty, which is replete with compulsory duties imposed on the G.D.R. by the Soviet revisionists. The G.D.R. is required to accept the idea that "safeguarding the socialist gains" "is the common internationalist duty of the socialist countries" and to agree to "take the necessary measures to safeguard and protect" these "gains." In a statement issued in Cologne on October 9, the Communist Party of Germany noted

that every article in the new treaty is permeated with Soviet aggressiveness and its big-power chauvinist interests.

The stark fact of the Soviet revisionists' stepped-up offensive in Europe has helped the European people to see more clearly social-imperialism's aggressive ambi-

tions. The Communist Party of Germany said in its statement that "like Hitlerite fascism as a motive force in the redivision of the world during World War II, Soviet social-imperialism is the arch enemy of the European countries and peoples today."

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

Behind the Soviet-U.S. Grain Agreement

by Jen Ku-ping

THE Soviet Union and the United States recently concluded a trade agreement on grain stipulating that the former will buy 6-8 million tons of grain from the United States every year in the next five years. In addition, both sides reached an "understanding" by which the Soviet Union promises to supply 10 million tons of oil to the United States annually. This has exposed the Soviet social-imperialists' feeble nature of being strong in appearance but weak inside. It also has showed their sinister design in fierce rivalry with the other superpower.

The signing of such an accord in Moscow is nothing less than an official proclamation of the complete bankruptcy of Soviet agricultural policy. Traditionally a grain exporter, the Soviet Union today has to subsist on imported cereals and become a long-term customer for U.S. grain because of the mess the Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique made of its agriculture. This deplorable situation is the inevitable outcome of the Soviet ruling clique's all-round restoration of capitalism, pursuance of the revisionist line and armaments expansion and war preparations. It is a concrete manifestation of the grave political and economic crises of Soviet social-imperialism.

World public opinion has maintained: It now appears impossible for the Soviet Union to feed itself; the Kremlin has admitted that it "will not be able to reach self-sufficiency (in grain) for a substantial period"; the Soviet revisionists have thrown themselves under the U.S. "grain umbrella" and have revealed the "weakness" of their "system." These words obviously have placed the rulers of a superpower in a very embarrassing position. But it seems Brezhnev and his like decided that it was better to save the belly than to save face.

The Soviet revisionist authorities, however, decided to keep their people in the dark about this shopping for enormous quantities of foreign grain and thus far have not made it public. Actually, they have bought more than 16 million tons of grain abroad. Under the above-mentioned agreement, the Soviet Union will import 30-40 million tons of grain from the United States alone in

the next five years. Nevertheless, Moscow still claimed recently that Soviet agricultural productivity had gone up and it was possible "to successfully overcome the difficulties in the driest year." This was bragging on the most ludicrous kind. The Soviet leading clique, though zealously preaching "detente" and repeatedly advocating that "trade is one of the means to materialize detente," chooses to keep this big deal a secret from the Soviet people and remain silent. This proves its guilty conscience.

But one must not overlook the fact that the Kremlin also had in mind the needs of its expansion and aggression abroad and scramble for world domination when it negotiated, cap in hand, to purchase U.S. grain. It is absolutely true that the revisionists have bungled Soviet agriculture and that the grain shortage is being ever more acutely felt in the country. Preoccupied with the quest for world hegemony, the men in the Kremlin, however, found that crop failures can serve as a convenient smokescreen for building up a strategic reserve of grain as part of their war preparations. This is just what some high-ranking Soviet officials meant when they recently emphasized the need to build up a food reserve in anticipation of "exigencies" other than natural calamities. It was even clearer when the mouthpieces of the Soviet revisionists stressed the "great importance" of a food reserve as one of the lessons of World War II, lessons they talked about on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the defeat of German fascism.

In readily supplying Moscow with the needed grain, Washington, of course, has its own axe to grind. It has found not only a stable foreign market for its "surplus grain" but also a means of curbing the Soviet revisionists in their rivalry for hegemony.

It can thus be seen that, far from being a sign of moving towards detente between the two superpowers, the grain trade agreement and the oil supply understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States are only an interlude in the course of their aggravating contention.

"Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Dictatorship of The Proletariat": Questions and Answers (7)

In the first phase of communist society (usually called Socialism) "bourgeois right" is not abolished in its entirety, but only in part, only in proportion to the economic revolution so far attained, i.e., only in respect of the means of production. "Bourgeois right" recognizes them as the private property of individuals. Socialism converts them into common property. To that extent—and to that extent alone—"bourgeois right" disappears.

However, it continues to exist as far as its other part is concerned; it continues to exist in the capacity of regulator (determining factor) in the distribution of products and the allotment of labour among the members of society. The socialist principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat," is already realized; the other socialist principle: "An equal amount of products for an equal amount of labour," is also already realized. But this is not yet Communism, and it does not yet abolish "bourgeois right," which gives to unequal individuals, in return for unequal (really unequal) amounts of labour, equal amounts of products.

V.I. Lenin: *The State and Revolution*
(August-September 1917)

Question: Lenin said that in socialist society bourgeois right disappears in the realm of the system of ownership. How should this be understood?

Answer: What Lenin said here about the disappearance of bourgeois right with respect to the ownership of the means of production means the conversion of all the means of production to ownership by the whole society. That is to say, only when the means of production are turned over to the whole society as common property can bourgeois right disappear in the realm of the system of ownership.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, we in China have in the past 25 years or so step by step eliminated ownership by imperialism, bureaucrat-capitalism and feudalism, gradually transformed ownership by national capitalism and individual labourers and replaced these five kinds of private ownership with two kinds of socialist public ownership. With the change of ownership, the proletariat and other labouring people in China have, in the

main, freed themselves from the shackles of private ownership and the socialist economic base has been gradually consolidated and developed. At the present stage of development in China, however, private ownership still exists in part of industry and agriculture as well as commerce, and socialist public ownership does not consist purely of ownership by the whole people but includes two kinds of ownership: ownership by the whole people and collective ownership by working people, while ownership by the whole people as yet is rather weak in agriculture, the foundation of the national economy. In short, we have not yet advanced to that stage conceived by Lenin in which bourgeois right does not exist in the realm of the system of ownership. In theory and in practice, we must not overlook the very arduous tasks facing the dictatorship of the proletariat in China in completely eliminating bourgeois right in the ownership of the means of production.

We also must be aware that both ownership by the whole people and collective ownership involve the question of leadership. In other words, we must solve the question of ownership not just in form but also in reality. And earnest efforts must be made to solve this question in those units which are under socialist ownership in form but whose leadership is not really in the hands of genuine Marxists and the proletariat. This is an important question in combating and preventing capitalist restoration.

Question: Why is it that distribution according to work is bourgeois right which gives to unequal individuals, in return for unequal amounts of labour, equal amounts of products?

Answer: Distribution according to work means "an equal amount of products for an equal amount of labour" for everyone with labour as the standard of measurement. Here "according to work" does not mean that work is calculated according to the working time of each individual but according to the working time based on the average level of skill and average labour intensity in society. "An equal amount of products for an equal amount of labour" requires every labourer to do an equal amount of labour by this standard so as to receive an equal amount of reward. This gives rise to the following problem: Because of their different physical conditions and levels of skill, individual labourers supply different amounts of labour in the same length of time and thus get different rewards. To obtain equal amounts of rewards, unequal individuals have to do unequal amounts of labour. That is to say,

those who are physically weak and technically unskilled have to do a greater amount of labour than those who are physically strong and technically skilled, so as to get an equal amount of products. For example, both A and B are carpenters; A who is physically stronger and technically more skilled gets two yuan a day in return for his labour, while B gets one yuan because he is weaker and not so skilled. If B is to receive the same reward as A, he has to double his working time. So actually B has to do an amount of labour unequal to that of A for the same amount of reward as A. Thus it can be seen that when measurement of the distribution of consumer goods is made according to the same standard—labour, inequality still exists in reality. This is why giving unequal individuals, in return for unequal (really unequal) amounts of labour, equal amounts of products is bourgeois right.

Marx not only most scrupulously takes account of the inevitable inequality of men, but he also takes into account the fact that the mere conversion of the means of production into the common property of the whole of society (commonly called "Socialism") does not remove the defects of distribution and the inequality of "bourgeois right" which continues to prevail as long as products are divided "according to the amount of labour performed."

V.I. Lenin: *The State and Revolution* (August-September 1917)

Question: Why did Lenin say that the mere conversion of the means of production into the common property of the whole of society "does not remove the defects of distribution and the inequality of 'bourgeois right' "?

Answer: This is mainly because:

First, the relations of production based on public ownership of the means of production have paved the broadest possible way for the rapid growth of the productive forces, but the development of these forces cannot be detached from the old basis. Throughout the historical period of socialism, efforts still have to be made to develop the productive forces from the existing basis to the level where they can provide products in great abundance so as to fully meet the needs of all members of society and apply the principle "to each according to his needs."

Second, in spite of the fact that the means of production have been placed under public ownership, the differences between worker and peasant, between town and country and between mental and manual labour left over from the old society still exist, the old social division of labour has not disappeared and labourers are vastly different in their technical and cultural levels as well as ability to work. Therefore, we cannot but

recognize these differences to a proper extent when it comes to distribution.

Third, under the conditions of public ownership of the means of production, everyone's labour is performed for the revolution and the collective, but, for most people, labour has not become their life's prime want. Owing to the existence of the influence of the exploiting classes' bad ideas of "being fond of ease and averse to labour" and "gaining much without labour" and the existence of the ideas of private ownership, it is as yet impossible for everyone to establish the communist attitude towards labour characterized by selfless work for the collective without any thought of reward.

For these reasons, we can only apply the principle "to each according to his work."

Question: Why is it that in socialist society "bourgeois right" continues to prevail with respect to distribution?

Answer: The historical period of socialism is one in which growing communism and declining capitalism are locked in struggle in the field of distribution, as is the case with other fields. The distribution of products under socialism consists of some communist factors in line with the principle "to each according to his needs," such as free medical treatment and other collective welfare services, which are new things full of vitality and with good prospects of development. These factors, however, make up only a small proportion in the entire field of distribution under socialism. As a whole, the socialist principle of distribution remains "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." As long as products are distributed "according to the amount of labour performed," the prevailing principle is still exchange of equal values which regulates the exchange of commodities. It uses the same standard—labour—to measure individuals who are actually unequal and tacitly recognizes unequal individual endowments and productive capacities as natural privileges. That is why bourgeois right, which superficially is equal but actually unequal, continues to prevail in distribution under socialism.

Question: How should we understand the principle of distribution according to work and what attitude should we take towards it?

Answer: On the question of what attitude to be taken towards bourgeois right, all along there has been a sharp struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Since the principle of exchange of equal values still prevails in the distribution of articles for personal consumption "according to the amount of labour performed," which remains equality on the face of it and inequality in reality, bourgeois right continues to hold a dominant position. Though unavoidable in the socialist period, this after all is a defect and must be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Both the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and Liu

(Continued on p. 23.)

ROUND THE WORLD

ROMANIA

Five-Year Plan Fulfilled Ahead of Time

Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and Romanian President, declared on November 3 that Romania had reached the targets set for industrial production in the current five-year plan (1971-75) two months ahead of schedule.

The President said that in the current five-year plan period, the country's economy "has registered vigorous growth. Productive capacity has gone up and has been modernized and national wealth has recorded a marked increase. Under the Party's vast investment plan, more than 2,300 projects in industry, agriculture and animal husbandry have been built and put into operation, while thousands of existing enterprises have been expanded with their old machinery and equipment replaced by new ones. The average annual increase in industrial output is about 14 per cent."

He added: "Agriculture, too, has progressed continually and is being modernized. Despite the adverse natural conditions in the past few years, it has advanced at an average annual rate of 5 per cent."

The above was stated by President Ceausescu at the opening session of the representative conference held jointly by the Union of Communist Youth, the Union of Communist Students' Associations and the Young Pioneers' Organization.

He praised the Romanian youth for their positive contributions to the achievements of these major successes.

"The essence of political and ideological work," he pointed out, "is to educate every citizen, and every youth in particular, to love his country, love our socialist nation and love the Romanian people who are dedicated to the building of socialism."

He added: "As a poem by our great poet, G. Cosbuc, goes, we are not angels descending from heaven, but will die one day. We would rather fall like lions than be chained like dogs. . . . These lines tell today's generation that it must carry on an unremitting struggle so that our country can find its place among the free nations, and we can live like lions and remain unchained for ever."

"Great attention," he said, "must be paid to education and training of the youth to defend the motherland. The younger generation must be prepared at all times to defend its ancient homeland and fight to safeguard the revolutionary fruits of the people as well as the freedom, independence and integrity of the motherland."

The President continued: "We firmly base all our foreign relations on the following principles: National independence and sovereignty, full equality of rights, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, non-use of force or interference by force and respect for the right of every people to shape their destiny according to their aspirations free from outside interference."

He said: "We are working persistently for the establishment of a new international economic and political order so that the peoples can advance freely, without any restriction and according to their will and desire, rapidly develop their own productive forces and exploit their national wealth in the light of their interests, and extensively enjoy the fruits of modern sciences and technology on the basis of full equality."

UNITED STATES

Personnel Changes Cause Strong Repercussions

U.S. President Ford's November 3 announcement of a number of important personnel changes in his administration, including the removal from office of Defence Secretary

James Schlesinger, has touched off strong repercussions at home and abroad.

Learning on November 2 of the removal of Schlesinger, Democratic Senator Henry Jackson issued a statement at once, pointing out that "his [Schlesinger's] abrupt removal indicates this administration cannot tolerate differing views and honest advice on the most serious issues of national security," and that Schlesinger's removal "is a loss to the nation . . . in the pursuit of a prudent defence and foreign policy." He told reporters the same day that Schlesinger's departure was due to his differences with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. He said he was sure that the plan for Kissinger to relinquish his National Security Council post was just "a sop." Republican Senator Barry Goldwater called Schlesinger's removal "a very serious thing." "The Soviets," he said, "will look on this as quite a victory." He added that he was disturbed that it left the cabinet "without a strong dissenting voice."

Another Democratic Senator, Edward Kennedy, said that for the United States, "most critical is the need for an effective agreement at SALT II on limiting the strategic arms race. If the changes made by the President will increase the chances of such an agreement, then the nation will be well served."

Before Ford's official announcement on November 3, the Soviet news agency, TASS, on the basis of U.S. press disclosures, had reported that Schlesinger would be dismissed. DPA reported on November 4 that the editor of the Soviet magazine *U.S.A. — Economics, Politics, Ideology*, Valentin Berezhkov, welcomed Schlesinger's dismissal by Ford. He said he hoped that the U.S. government reshuffle would further the "positive development" between the two major powers, the Soviet Union and the United States.

The *Washington Post* said in an article on November 3: "Nowhere else in the world is the departure of James Schlesinger from the Defence Department likely to be as closely watched — or as warmly received — as in the Kremlin." "To the Soviets,"

the article noted, "Schlesinger was a powerful and persuasive opponent of detente in the highest reaches of the Ford administration. Publicly, Moscow assailed the Defence Secretary's policies." It said: "Specialists at Kremlin think-tanks like the U.S.A. Institute and the Institute for International Relations and World Economics have been carefully following reported differences between Schlesinger and Kissinger for nearly a year. These specialists believed that to a large extent the future course of Soviet-American relations depended on whether Kissinger's approach to bargaining with Moscow prevailed over Schlesinger's harder-line stance." "The shuffle in Washington will certainly be regarded by the Kremlin as a step in the right direction."

U.S. allies in Western Europe were reported uneasy about the personnel changes in Washington. A Bonn dispatch in the *Washington Post* on November 3 said that Defence Minister Georg Leber of the Federal Republic of Germany was "stunned" by the reports of the changes. DPA reported that Schlesinger's dismissal was "much regretted" in Bonn Defence Ministry circles. The London *Daily Telegraph* said editorially on November 4 that Schlesinger's removal "could be bad news for the NATO Alliance and its position vis-a-vis Russia and the Warsaw Pact countries. He has consistently taken a critical line on the policy of 'detente' with Russia, of which Dr. Kissinger has been the architect." Ford's "removal of Schlesinger from the important position of defence secretary shows clearly which side he takes in the argument about 'detente.'" *France Soir* in a November 5 article said that the United States has sacrificed Schlesinger on the altar of detente. "In the United States," it said, "the notion of the 'Soviet menace' has been put away in the warehouse of useless accessories."

A *Washington Post* correspondent reported: "A number of officials around the NATO area felt the dismissal [of Schlesinger] would probably exacerbate the already widening debate in the United States over the

pros and cons of detente with the Soviet Union."

U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL

Resolution on Western Sahara

The U.N. Security Council adopted by consensus a resolution on Western Sahara at its urgent meeting on November 2.

The resolution "urges all the parties concerned and interested to avoid any unilateral or other action which might further escalate the tension in the area" and requests the U.N. Secretary-General "to continue and intensify his consultations with the parties concerned and interested, and to report to the Security Council as soon as possible on the results of these consultations in order to enable the council to adopt any further appropriate measures that may be necessary."

Reiterating China's basic stand on the Western Sahara question, Chinese Representative Lai Ya-li said: "To put it briefly, we have always firmly stood for the termination of Spanish colonial domination over Western Sahara. In the meantime, in view of certain complicated factors and the actual circumstances surrounding the question of Western Sahara, we sincerely hope that the African countries concerned and interested, together with the people of Western Sahara, will find a reasonable solution to the problem existing in this region by cherishing the overall interests of unity against colonialism and imperialism and through friendly consultation, so as to preserve the unity and friendship among the countries and peoples concerned and interested and avoid further aggravation and complication of the matter. At the same time, we consider it necessary to maintain particular vigilance and to prevent the superpowers from seizing the opportunity to meddle in the matter."

U.S. "AID"

Emphasis on Middle East and Southern Europe

In his foreign aid message of fiscal year 1976 [beginning July 1, 1975] to Congress on October 30, U.S. Pres-

ident Ford requested authorization of 4,700 million dollars in foreign military and economic "aid" for that year. About 82 per cent, or more than 3,850 million dollars, will go to the Middle East and the South European regions. This reflects the growing intensity of the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union in these areas.

As stipulated in the message, 3,300 million dollars are earmarked for the Middle East. While asking to continue to provide Israel with a huge sum of military "aid," the message markedly increased military "aid" to the Arab countries. For Israel, 740 million dollars are in "security supporting assistance" and 1,500 million dollars in military sales credits. In addition, the message proposed 750 million dollars in "security supporting assistance" for Egypt and 90 million dollars for Syria. The "assistance" to Syria, the message said, "will further our efforts to re-establish more normal bilateral relations." Besides 100 million dollars in military grants, Jordan will get 78 million dollars in "security supporting assistance" and 75 million dollars in military sales credits. The message also recommended the establishment of a "special requirements fund" to defray the costs of stationing U.S. technicians in the Sinai area.

It also requested 35 million dollars in economic "aid" for Cyprus.

As for "aid" to Europe, the message emphasized Greece and Turkey. For Greece, it proposed more than 50 million dollars in military "assistance" and 110 million dollars in military sales credits. For Turkey, it asked for 75 million dollars in military "assistance" and 130 million dollars in military sales credits. The implementation of the "aid" programme, it added, will allow the United States "to resume its traditional co-operative role following the unfortunate disruptions occasioned by the Cyprus crisis."

In economic "aid," it also asked to provide Portugal with 55 million dollars and Greece with 65 million dollars.

Friendship Notes

Acupuncture Anaesthesia Outside of China

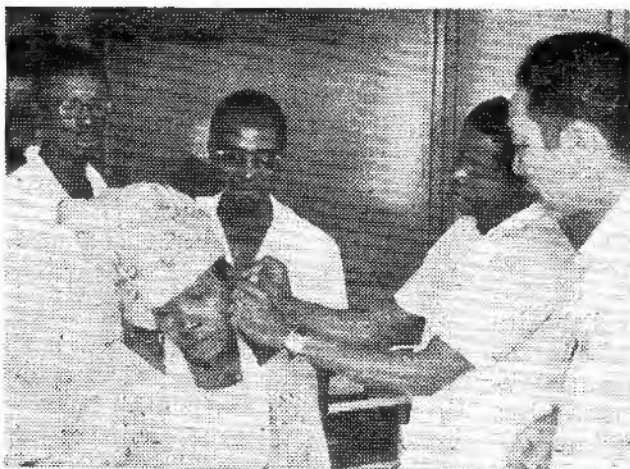
Three doctors in a hospital in the capital of Sri Lanka not long ago successfully carried out a lung operation on a patient under acupuncture anaesthesia. Throughout the operation, the fully conscious patient coordinated well with the doctors.

Doctors at the hospital attached to Egypt's Alexandria University used acupuncture anaesthesia in a caesarean operation to deliver a healthy baby. Previous caesarean deliveries had not given this woman a live child owing to the effect of anaesthetics.

Anaesthetization by acupuncture has also been introduced in some Latin American countries. Peruvian doctors have successfully used acupuncture in goiter and ovarian cyst cases.

At the well-known Italian medical centre in Turin, a caesarean delivery effectively carried out under acupuncture anaesthesia was reported in many newspapers and was televised live to the public.

A medical institute in the Federal Republic of Germany has successfully done more than 300 cases of heart surgery under acupuncture anaesthesia. A visiting Chinese medical delegation observed an effective intracardiac operation with extracorporeal circulation in which acupuncture anaesthesia was used.



Guinean medical worker using acupuncture to treat a patient.

Japan was the first country outside China to experiment with the use of acupuncture anaesthesia clinically. About 1,000 operations using acupuncture anaesthesia were performed in about a dozen medical units. Detailed summing-up was made of the experience.

Acupuncture anaesthesia was created by China's medical workers through summing up and improving on the experience of obtaining analgesic effects by needling practised in traditional Chinese medicine and integrating it with Western medical experience.

When the Chinese press reported the successful application of acupuncture anaesthesia in 1971, this attracted the attention of foreign friends in the medical field. Since then thousands have come from abroad to observe and look into acupuncture anaesthesia clinical practice and experiments. According to incomplete figures, thousands of surgical operations under acupuncture anaesthesia have been reported in over 20 countries and regions. These include simple teeth extraction, grafting, removal of cysts and other minor operations and also difficult operations like craniotomy and pneumonectomy. Acupuncture anaesthesia is beginning to take its place in the medical arsenal serving the world's people.

International academic exchanges in the application of acupuncture anaesthesia are increasing. More than 30 journals on acupuncture and moxibustion are now published abroad. Several international academic conferences on acupuncture and moxibustion are held every year. Scholars in some countries have organized special research institutes to study the principles of acupuncture anaesthesia and have advanced various

hypotheses on the effect of this medical method. Activities of foreign friends are encouraging China's medical workers to work harder to make new contributions.

Commemorating Lu Hsun

On October 19, the 39th anniversary of the death of China's great revolutionary, thinker and writer Lu Hsun (1881-1936), Japanese friends erected a monument in the vicinity of Mr. Lu Hsun's former residence in the city of Sendai where he had once studied, to pay tribute to him for his great spirit and enhance Japan-China friendship.

There is a good reason for putting up this monument. Last April, the "Wings of Japan-China Friendship," a Japanese working youth delegation of over 120 members, headed by Takeshi Shimano, Mayor of Sendai, flew to China for a visit. While in Shanghai, they paid homage at the Lu Hsun Mausoleum and visited his former residence and the Lu Hsun Memorial Hall. Deeply moved by his militant life, the Japanese friends pledged to learn from Lu Hsun's spirit and do their part in promoting Japan-China friendship when they returned home.

The first thing the delegation members wanted to do when they were back in Sendai was to tell the Japanese people what they had seen in New China. An album of pictures that they had compiled was quickly published. One hundred ninety thousand copies were printed, one for each household in Sendai. Through vivid pictures and captions, the album relates the delegation's impressions. In addition, a documentary film *Wings of Friendship — Ten Days of Japan-China Amity* was screened. Many Japanese friends told their impressions of China through articles in newspapers or T.V. programmes. All delegation members joined the newly-organized Society in Praise of Lu Hsun, in which they study Lu Hsun's works and compile material about his activities in Sendai. All this has made the slogan of Japan-China friendship go deeper into the hearts of the Sendai people.

ON THE HOME FRONT

Kwangsi Develops Its Economy

THE Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region on China's southern frontier, where many minority nationalities live, used to be rather backward in production. But since liberation, it has made rapid progress in agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, thanks to the firm implementation of the general principle of "taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor." Total industrial and agricultural output value in 1974 was five times that of 1950.

Before liberation Kwangsi was deficient in food grain. Its industry consisted mostly of handicraft workshops, and it produced no chemical fertilizer and steel at all.

To a large extent it is agriculture that decides the speed and scale of industrial development. Only when agriculture has developed can the problem of feeding the people be solved, can industry be provided with manpower and raw materials, the market for industrial products expanded, and funds accumulated for developing industry. Therefore in economic work, the Party organizations and the people's governments at all levels in the region have given

first place to the development of agriculture, and, on this basis, have steadily promoted light and heavy industries.

Before liberation, the region was frequently hit by floods, droughts, windstorms or insect pests and only 133,300 out of its 2,400,000 hectares of farmland had been brought under irrigation. With the collectivization of agriculture, favourable conditions were created for building water conservancy projects on a large scale. By 1965, farmland yielding good harvests irrespective of drought or excess rain was expanded to 666,600 hectares. Since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, irrigated acreage has been extended by another 331,300 hectares.

Attention to farming scientifically has led to a steady increase in per-hectare yields, and good harvests have been gathered for 13 successive years. Between 1971 and 1974, total grain output showed an average annual increase of 6 per cent, while sugar cane, bast fibre crops, tea, fruit and other cash crops more than doubled their output. Now the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, over and above providing grain for its own needs, supplies large amounts of marketable grain to the state.

Kwangsi has gradually developed its light industry using local resources. It has built a number of factories making sugar, linen, silk fabrics and processing fruit. The region, which practically relied on other parts of the country for light industrial goods in the past, can now manufacture wristwatches, sewing machines and bicycles and meet 60 per cent of the local

needs for light industrial goods. Since the beginning of the Great Cultural Revolution, its total light industrial output value has more than tripled. Light industry now provides one-third of the region's annual revenue.

As for heavy industry, 75 large and medium-sized plants and mines were built between 1965 and 1974 turning out iron and steel, tractors, machinery, chemical fertilizers and coal. Average annual increase in the output value of heavy industry has been 20.2 per cent. In 1965 walking-tractors were still in the stage of trial production, but in 1974 a total of 5,050 were made. Chemical fertilizer output in 1974 was nearly five times the amount in 1965.

The counties and communes in the autonomous region have also built 861 small industrial enterprises producing chemical fertilizers, cement, machinery and coal. Most of the equipment are locally made.

Of the total output value of agriculture and industry, the proportion accounted for by industry increased from 15.7 per cent in 1950 to 51.9 per cent in 1974 and the output value of heavy industry rose from 0.1 per cent to 22.7 per cent.

P.L.A. as a Production Force

THE 196th Division of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, like other army units, is equipped not only with guns, but with sickles, hoes and tractors for agricultural production.

The area where this division is stationed used to be an execution ground marked off by the reactionary rulers in the old society. After liberation, it was turned into barracks. While engaging in military training, the armymen reclaimed the surrounding alkaline wasteland and turned it into an oasis of cultivated farmland.

The division has reclaimed more than 660 hectares of land, about half of which has been turned over to nearby people's communes. It harvests 1.57 million kilogrammes of grain and 4 million kilogrammes of vegetables every year in addition to



Kwangsi-made cotton prints in ample supply for local customers.

keeping a piggery of more than 2,800 head. Cadres' wives have been organized to run small factories producing articles for daily use. Now this division is able to supply nearly all the vegetables and part of the food grain and meat it needs.

Army units going in for production mainly use their spare time in the morning and evening. Some companies devote most of their time to farming, with the provision that they fulfil military training requirements. Known as "production companies," they do this in rotation for a period of one year.

Commanders and fighters not only farm their own fields, but also join the local peasants in harvesting dur-

ing the busy summer and autumn seasons.

Cadres take part in productive labour the same as fighters. Officers at platoon, company and battalion levels live and work together with the rank-and-file. Cadres at regimental level and above must serve in a company for a month as ordinary fighters (or as company leaders) and do manual labour for another month every year.

Taking time to engage in production even during military training and wartime is part of Chairman Mao's thinking on army building and a glorious tradition of the People's Liberation Army. In doing so, the army fosters the style of hard strug-

gle, creates wealth for the state and lightens the burden of the people.

Army participation in productive labour has a long history. As early as in the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), the Eighth Route Army units stationed around Yen-an, the great centre of the Chinese revolution, launched a vigorous large-scale production campaign in response to Chairman Mao's call for ample food and clothing by working with one's own hands. They reclaimed wasteland, raised grain, spun and wove, providing adequate supplies for the army. This glorious tradition, inherited and carried forward by the P.L.A. since liberation, is still very much alive today.

(Continued from p. 18.)

Shao-chi, Lin Piao and other revisionist chieftains like them in China made bourgeois right a tool for restoring capitalism, trying with might and main to strengthen and expand it. A small number of people with spontaneous capitalist tendencies and degenerate elements in the ranks of the proletariat also try in every possible way to use it to attain their selfish aim of amassing fortunes and getting rich. Therefore, we must resolutely criticize revisionism, capitalist tendencies and the concept of bourgeois right and, at the same time, persist in putting proletarian politics in command, propagate communist ideology on a wider scale and advocate a conscious communist attitude towards labour.

Of course, bourgeois right in regard to the distribution of articles of consumption inevitably presupposes the existence of the bourgeois state, for right is nothing without an apparatus capable of enforcing the observance of the standards of right.

It follows that under Communism there remains for a time not only bourgeois right, but even the bourgeois state—without the bourgeoisie!

V.I. Lenin: *The State and Revolution* (August-September 1917)

Question: Why did Lenin say that under communism the bourgeois state without the bourgeoisie remains for a time?

Answer: He first of all pointed out that bourgeois right in regard to the distribution of articles of consumption inevitably presupposes the existence of the bourgeois state. Here he studied the state from a particular angle, i.e., that of bourgeois right. Marxism holds that bourgeois right is an expression of the bourgeoisie's will and interests and the bourgeois state is a tool of coercion guarding them. The coercive power of the bourgeois state machinery is indispensable for ensuring the realization of bourgeois right. Since part of bourgeois right in regard to the distribution of consumer goods and the exchange of products has to be preserved for a time under communism, i.e., in the initial phase of communism or socialist society, due to the limitations of material and intellectual conditions, it requires an apparatus, i.e., the state machinery, capable of compelling people to observe the standards of bourgeois right. "For right is nothing without an apparatus capable of enforcing the observance of the standards of right." Hence, the proletarian state recognizes bourgeois right, allows it to be retained, defends it and compels people to abide by it (of course restricting it at the same time). In this sense, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat plays that part of the role performed by the bourgeois state.

Then why did Lenin call it "the bourgeois state—without the bourgeoisie"? This means that in the sense of retaining and defending bourgeois right, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat plays the role the bourgeois state does, but the rulers holding the reins of this state machinery are the proletariat, not the bourgeoisie.

(To be continued.)

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